DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 139 859 UD 016 977

AUTHOR Reidy, Daniel F.
TITLE Urban Ethnic Organizing. Working Paper Series Number 6.
INSTITUTION American Jewish Committee, New York, N.Y. Inst. on Pluralism and Group Identity.
PUB DATE May 75
NOTE 17p.
AVAILABLE FROM Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 ($1.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Black Community; Blacks; *Community Planning; *Community Study; *Ethnic Groups; *Organizational Development; Policy Formation; Spanish Americans; Urban Environment; *Urban Population; Urban Studies; *Vocabulary
IDENTIFIERS *Ohio (Cleveland)

ABSTRACT

Described in this paper are the outcomes of an exploratory study concerning the development of a nomenclature about dynamic organizational activities occurring in urban communities of blacks, other non-whites, and white ethnics. Analysis, evaluation prediction, and policy recommendations for future community planning and action are explored. Ohio was selected for the research site as its 350,000 blacks, 25,000 Hispanics, and 800,000 European ethnics living in the Cleveland area provided an adequate social laboratory. From 1969 to 1972, nine city wide organizations were engaged in community organizing and 24 organizing projects in the three target communities were monitored and analyzed. Outcomes of the research process were a set of descriptive concepts and definitions, a tentative set of elements characteristic of effective urban ethnic organizing, hypothetical predictions, and policy recommendations about urban ethnicity and urban ethnic organizing. (Author/BS)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

WORKING PAPER SERIES

NUMBER 6

URBAN ETHNIC ORGANIZING

by Daniel F. Reidy

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ED139859

2

INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY

The Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity believes that if America is to survive as a healthy, pluralistic nation we must respond to the needs of individuals who identify as members of groups and give attention to the broad spectrum of group agendas. At the same time, every precaution must be taken to assure that competing group demands do not deteriorate into polarization, negativism or destructive group chauvinism.

An outgrowth of the National Project on Ethnic America, the Institute's aim is to bring the social sciences and the humanities into closer contact with the values and life styles of America's diverse groupings. We concentrate on developing effective links between scholars, practitioners, government officials and constituencies; formulating new policies and programs related to group status, group identity and group diversity; and publishing and disseminating materials designed to foster better understanding.

It is our belief that the goals of promoting the common good and developing cooperation and coalition are best achieved by recognizing diversity rather than ignoring it.

Our WORKING PAPERS series provides a platform for various people to express their personal viewpoints. While the Institute may not always agree with the ideas expressed in these papers, we feel they merit public attention.

URBAN ETHNIC ORGANIZING

DANIEL F. REIDY

Ethnicity dominates city life. Although blacks, Spanish-speaking people, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, and white European immigrant families are minority groups in American society at the national level, their combined numbers represent a majority in many cities. And, most importantly, their organizational activities and interactions are crucial to urban America.

Yet much of this phenomenon remains a mystery. There has been a lag in developing a satisfactory language to talk precisely about the dynamic organizational activities occurring in urban communities of blacks, and other non-whites, and white ethnics. Analysis, evaluation, prediction, and policy recommendations for future community planning and action have been virtually non-existent.

To penetrate some of the mystery, Cleveland, Ohio was selected as a research site for an extensive study project. The 350,000 blacks, 25,000 Hispanic browns, and 800,000 European ethnics living in Greater Cleveland made it an adequate social laboratory. By selecting the largest and most significant black, Hispanic and white ethnic communities, the study project was brought into manageable scale. From 1969 to 1972, nine city-wide organizations engaged in community organizing and twenty-four organizing projects in the three target communities were monitored and analyzed.

This exploratory research process had the following outcomes: a fresh set of descriptive concepts and definitions; a tentative set of elements characteristic of effective urban ethnic organizing; hypothetical predictions; and policy recommendations about urban ethnicity and urban ethnic organizing.

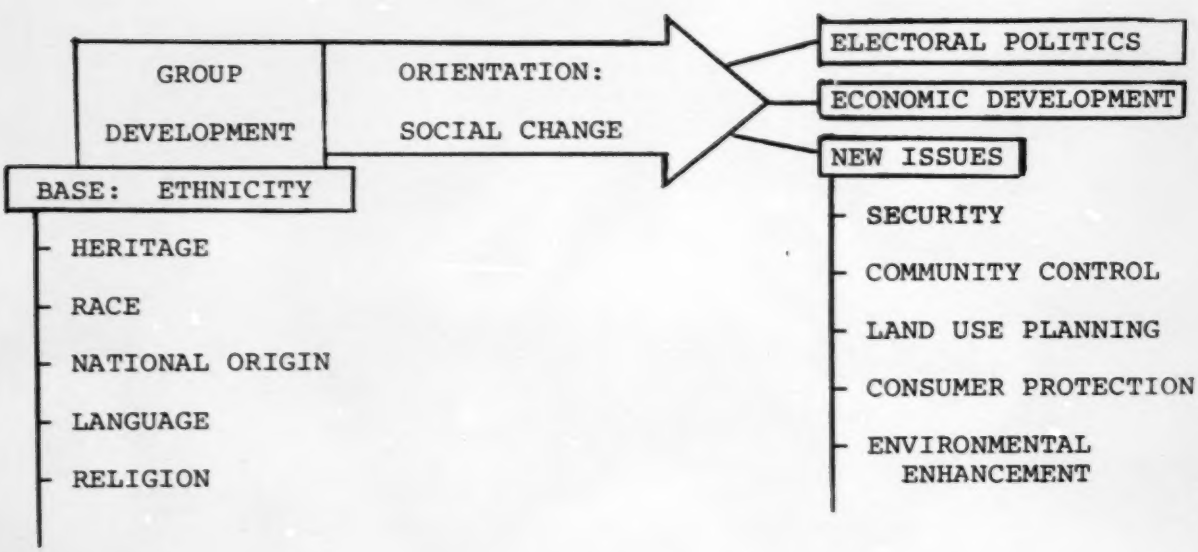
TERMINOLOGY

Research in the Cleveland urban communities, examining the developing literature, and thinking about the similarities and differences among black, Hispanic and white ethnic people and communities contributed to a stabilization of some descriptive concepts. One conclusion is that "ethnicity" applies to blacks and Hispanics as well as white ethnics. This led to the development

of the following technical definition: URBAN ETHNICITY refers to the basic cultural patterns that establish and maintain the distinctness of non-Anglo-conforming population groups in cities. Examples of these patterns are heritage, race, language, national origin, and religion.

Just as urban ethnicity emerged as the umbrella concept and perspective to analyze the basic cultural patterns that establish and maintain the distinctness of non-Anglo-conforming urban population groups, urban ethnic organizing emerged as the umbrella term describing the processes used by blacks, browns and white ethnics to organize themselves. The actual definition developed in this study was that URBAN ETHNIC ORGANIZING refers to the processes whereby an operative consciously utilizes ethnicity to bring about planned social change in an urban community. The operative is a change agent, whether professionally trained or not. The group development has two essential aspects: it is based on ethnicity and oriented toward social change. The scale of operation is an urban community, a large geographical unit bound by limits set forth by the city government in which individual neighborhoods are sub-communities. Urban communities constantly undergo social change; the urban ethnic organizer aids the community in planning and channeling the direction of social change.

URBAN ETHNIC ORGANIZING



Five aspects of ethnicity provide bases for urban ethnic organizing: heritage, race, national origin, language, and religion. The cultural heritage of an ethnic group provides issues and opportunities to gather people together for collective activity. Fraternal organizations, historical pageants, folk dance troupes, special ethnic studies programs in schools, and so on, pull people together, and these groups are potential constituencies that could be oriented toward directed social change. Race and national origin provide symbols useful for community organizing in terms of either pride at success or rage at mistreatment. Foreign languages or the street argot of the black community assemble people into groups for mutual aid and communication. Religious festivals, like street processions or revivals, provide opportunities for community organization, and churches are key sources of community cohesion in ethnic communities.

Urban ethnic communities have a plethora of voluntary organizations that are attuned to the culture of the people and respond to some individual needs, but ethnicity-based organizations oriented toward planned social change at a community-wide scale are rare. On a continuum, black communities tend to be the most oriented toward planned social change, Hispanic communities would hold the middle ground, and white ethnic communities tend to be least oriented toward social change.

The real needs of the residents of ethnic communities, whether black, brown, or white, are met by planned social change in three general areas: electoral politics, economic development, and "new issues." Ethnic communities are becoming more selective in their political representatives, seeking people of competence and accountability to their constituencies. They no longer automatically dance to the tune of the oldtime ward bosses; they are growing in savvy about the political process. They also are growing in sophistication about economic development, realizing that this is the key to the viability of these communities. Grouped under the rubric "new issues" are several items that have received special attention since the middle Sixties as emerging urban issues, though none are really "new":

1) Security: Ethnic communities are vitally concerned about the protection of persons and property from potential criminals ("Law and Order") or from the police ("Police-Community relations").

2) Community Control of Institutions: Many ethnic communities want some measure of control over local institutions, especially schools.

3) Land Use Planning: Ethnic communities want more say about the location of public housing, clearance for highway construction, and zoning changes.

4) Consumer Protection: Ethnic communities want an adequate supply of commercial outlets, some measure of ethnic sensitivity or ethnic control, and protection from exploitation.

5) Environmental Enhancement: Many ethnic communities bear the brunt of industrial air pollution because of proximity to the sources of pollution.

The proper scale of urban ethnic organizing has been set at the level of the urban community, leaving the concept of "community" loosely defined as a large geographical unit bound by limits set forth by the city government in which individual neighborhoods are sub-communities. Organizing at the block club or street club level is a traditional social work operation in which small issues generally unconnected with ethnicity like lawn care and trash collection become the organizing base. Even at the neighborhood level, social problems are generally handled through traditional processes in the neighborhood school or settlement house without using ethnicity to develop a constituency to bring about planned social change. When politicians use ethnicity to assemble city-wide voting blocs, the specific social problems and distinctive cultural settings of individual urban ethnic communities are blurred into a deceptive homogeneous mass with little chance for planned social change in those communities.

In terms of the ethnicity factor, cities can be broken down into four types of communities. The monoethnic community is made up of people of a single ethnic group, as in a black ghetto like Harlem, a Mexican barrio, or a little Italy. The multiethnic community is made up of more than one ethnic group, but within the same color or racial grouping, as in a Slovak-Hungarian-Italian community or a Puerto Rican-Mexican community. A mosaic community is distinguished by significant variation in both ethnicity and color. A mainline community is made up of people culturally assimilated into the mainstream of American life. Urban ethnic organizing can take place in the first three types of urban communities; of the communities examined in this study, one was monoethnic (all-black), another was mosaic, (heavily Hispanic, but also white ethnic, Appalachian, black, and Indian), and the third had recently changed from multiethnic to mosaic because of new black neighbors, though it bordered a mainline community of apartments and homes.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE URBAN ETHNIC ORGANIZING

After analyzing and comparing the urban community organizing processes used by the various city-wide organizations and by smaller scale groups in the three target communities, certain elements appeared to be characteristic of effective urban ethnic organizing.

Since urban ethnic organizing has been defined as the processes whereby an operative consciously utilizes ethnicity to bring about planned social change in an urban community, "effective" processes would have the output of planned social change and the input of developing the ethnic group or groups by utilizing ethnicity. The following elements are presented as a tentative set with no claim to comprehensiveness.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE URBAN ETHNIC ORGANIZING

INPUT FACTORS ⟶ CONSTITUENCY DEVELOPMENT
1. *Effort*
2. *Use of Symbols*
3. *Ideological Resiliency*
4. *Leadership*

OUTPUT FACTORS ⟶ PLANNED SOCIAL CHANGE
5. *Clarity of Goals*
6. *Future-Orientation*
7. *Communitarian Scope*
8. *Confrontation*
9. *Coalition-building*

MAINTENANCE FACTORS ⟶ PROJECT SURVIVAL
10. *Efficiency*
11. *Multi-Issued*
12. *Grantsmanship*

Input Factors ⟶ Constituency Development

1. Effort: Effective urban ethnic organizing requires the expenditure of resources. The sponsoring organization will have to invest the time and energy of personnel with an adequate back-up of materials and equipment. There is a qualitative as well as a quantitative aspect to this factor; the effort of only one skilled, energetic, and creative organizer might be a more fruitful input than the effort of three less gifted organizers. Also the adequacy of the effort should be measured against the total amount of need. In a community that already possessed a good communications system, a well-organized federation of ethnic organizations, and a high degree of community cohesion, an urban ethnic organizing project would not require as much effort as would be needed in a community without them.

2. Use of Symbols: Successful urban ethnic organizers utilize and manipulate the symbols available in the cultural heritage, language, and religion of the ethnic people to achieve program goals.

One must be careful, however, about the approach to "manipulation," in that the organizer who believes he or she knows in advance how the community should react is in for a rude awakening. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that relative success emerges to the extent an organizer and the community group reach a viable consensus as to what should be done. In each of the three target communities during the study period, organizers put together fresh community festivals that included a parade down the main street of the community and exploitation of ethnically relevant symbols to promote community organizing objectives. These organizers were successful in assembling large constituents where other organizers failed.

3. Ideological Resiliency: The more gifted organizers observed in this study were readily able to shift gears philosophically to achieve both short-term and long-term goals. For example, the more successful organizers in the white ethnic community had to delicately balance a tolerance of anti-black rhetoric from potential constituents with realistic preparation for co-existence in a racially mixed urban society. In all three communities, organizers would have to function in both the church-based constituencies and the non-religious groups of people.

4. Leadership: Effective programs tended to have leadership that was strong, insightful, and articulate; ineffective programs tended to have leadership that was weak, incompetent, or politically dominated. Speaking in general terms, the black community tended to have the strongest leaders, the Hispanic community held the middle ground, and the white ethnics had the weakest leadership. This was probably due to several factors--the outmigration of leadership material from the white ethnic community, and the longer exposure of blacks to the leadership development components of the Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Poverty Program.

Output Factors ⟶ Planned Social Change

5. Clarity of Goals: Effective programs operated under a clear statement of goals and purposes; ineffective programs tended to have vague goals or to operate without a planning component. In the latter, the achievement of social change would have been by accident rather than design. For example, five organizations in the white ethnic community had security as a clear goal, and at the end of the study period there were fewer security problems than there had been two years before. Black community organizations with clear goals of economic development and community control did put together programs that had begun to achieve their objectives. Most of the Hispanic community organizations had fuzzy or nonexistent goals, and they achieved very little during the study period.

6. Future-Orientation: One of the paradoxes in the urban ethnic organizing field is that successful organizing must build

for the future without abandoning its base in the past. Programs that unrealistically reconstruct the past or preserve the present tend to be less effective than future-oriented programs. A judgment must be made on what is "unrealistic," because historical restoration projects and community stabilization programs can be valuable efforts in building the future of an urban ethnic community. In the white ethnic target area, the community accepted the counter-blockbusting strategies of one organization as a realistic community stabilization program but rejected the scheme of another to create a Hungarian Village as unrealistic and unworthy of community support.

7. Communitarian Scope: The achievement of social change, to be truly social, requires changes in the situation of numbers of people, not of a single person or a handful of individuals. An urban ethnic organizing project that improved the economic situation of a few private entrepreneurs would be less effective than a community corporation of general benefit. However, it would be simplistic to conclude that there is a direct relationship between the number of people affected and the effectiveness of a project. Because of the complexities of urban ethnic organizing, especially in communities that could be classified as multiethnic or mosaic, a project that involved people from the entire community but to a minimum degree might well be less effective than a project for a single ethnic sub-community that involved people to a greater degree in working for social change.

8. Confrontation: Weak programs retreated in the face of direct confrontation with vested interests like the City Administration, ward councilmen, the Board of Education, or the trustees of foundations. Effective programs tended to struggle for independence and integrity, spurred on by the understanding that the established ways of getting things done had broken down and that it was natural for vested interests to resist social change. In the three target communities, organizations that never used confrontation rarely accomplished anything that could be called social change. Of the organizations that did use confrontation, some found their resources choked off by the countervailing forces, but others awakened enough vitality in the community to achieve some of their objectives--either through utilization of internal resources, or by being eventually taken seriously by the vested interests.

9. Coalition-building: When an organization cannot achieve its goals with its own constituency and resources, functional alliances with other urban ethnic organizing efforts, either within the ethnic group or across ethnic lines, can aid in the achievement of social change. Ethnicity-based organizations are singularly sensitive about their identity and power, and very slow to jeopardize them in a volatile coalition.

Maintenance Factors ⟶ Project Survival

10. Efficiency: The output of an urban ethnic organizing project should be measured against the cost in effort and public convenience. For example, one project under study was very expensive in terms of staff time, purchased consultant services, and program expenses with very little output in terms of visible social change.

11. Multi-Issued: Organizations with one issue tend to experience an erosion of constituency support that inevitably cuts into project output. As the constituency slips away, the achievement of social change becomes more remote. In the target communities, organizations working on several issues tended to have larger constituencies and better chances of survival.

12. Grantsmanship: An auxiliary component of effective urban ethnic organizing is taking advantage of funding opportunities. There is no intrinsic connection between doing the organizing and raising funds for the organizing. A poor program might be able to maintain funding because of the communication or political skills of a grantsman or because of the vagaries of the funding game. However, effective projects might be prematurely terminated without adequate support.

These twelve characteristics are offered as a tentative set of elements of effective urban ethnic organizing. More precise definitions, procedures for measurement, and calculation of weights to indicate relative importance would be required before this set of criteria could responsibly be called a finished research tool. On another level, however, this is an approach which never can be reduced to viably quantitative terms, in that any rating on a scale can be no more than the evaluation, and a subjective one, of a single observer.

HYPOTHETICAL PREDICTIONS

As another result of this study, hypothetical predictions about urban ethnic organizing were formulated. The model for this section was Glazer and Moynihan's "New York City in 1970." Their research findings in a single city were expanded in scope by formulating three hypotheses about American urban ethnicity in general. In this study, the first step was to check whether or not the Glazer-Moynihan hypotheses were borne out by this research effort in Cleveland of 1969-1972. The subsequent step was to develop additional hypotheses regarding urban ethnic organizing in the light of this research effort in Cleveland.

Glazer and Moynihan's first hypothesis was that ethnic identity was increasing in America:

> Ethnic identities have taken over some of the task in self-definition and in definition by others that

> occupational identities, particularly working-class occupational identities, have generally played. The status of the worker has been downgraded; as a result, apparently, the status of being an ethnic, a member of an ethnic group, has been upgraded.

In the urban ethnic organizing projects observed in detail in Cleveland, individuals frequently identified themselves in terms of their ethnic backgrounds and rarely in terms of occupation. The three target areas were working class and underclass welfare recipient neighborhoods, and people did not talk much about their jobs or personal economic situations. This might be attributed to the widespread alienation of working class people from their work; the neighborhood and other extra-work activities become their only hope for self-realization.

Glazer and Moynihan's second hypothesis was:

> International events have declined as a source of feelings of ethnic identity, except for Jews; domestic events have become more important.

This was not contradicted by anything that emerged from observation of urban ethnic organizing projects in Cleveland. The people and groups in the black community showed a generalized cultural interest in Africa and an ideological enthusiasm for the independence of African black people from white European colonialism, but no evidence appeared of sustained interest in the current events of individual African nations. Africa seemed to stand as a rich source of music, dress, and symbols but paled as a source of ethnic identity when compared to the American experiences of black people --slavery, the rural South, the urban ghetto. The wave of pride in blackness had been evoked not by African events but by domestic developments. A dramatic and tragic "shoot-out" with police contributed much more to ethnic identity than did the Nigerian-Biafran civil war or the genocide of blacks in the Sudan--two major international events that occurred in Africa at the same time.

The Spanish-speaking people of Cleveland similarly concerned themselves with domestic events. A small committee was working in Cleveland to liberate Puerto Rico from the United States, but not much community support was visible. People of Mexican background in Cleveland were generally second or third generation Americans with very little, if any, interest in Mexico. Recent Cuban refugees were resentful of the Castro regime and tended to be careful Cuba-watchers. Yet the vast majority of the Cleveland Hispanics were Puerto Ricans who articulated their ethnic identity in terms of the experience of their people in America.

The Italians, Slovaks, and Hungarians in the white ethnic community were Italian-Americans, Slovak-Americans, and Hungarian-Americans who were much more concerned about the American economy

and about law and order in Cleveland than about current events in a European homeland. The Hungarian Revolution brought on a temporary spurt of homeland loyalty in the middle Fifties for some Hungarians, but that had long since subsided. Antagonisms toward Communism caused by homeland experiences have been transferred into seeing Communism in domestic happenings like student unrest or the organized progress of black people.

Glazer and Moynihan's third hypothesis considered the interplay of religion and ethnicity:

> Along with occupation and homeland, religion has declined as a focus of ethnic identification... Particularly in the case of Catholics, confusion and uncertainty have entered what was only a few years ago a very firm and clear identity.

The weakening of the role of religion as a primary source of ethnic identity was noted in this research in Cleveland. Church-connected urban ethnic organizing projects illustrated the declining influence of religion. The projects usually had little direct impact on community residents not connected with the sponsoring church. Because of the decline of the influence and effective authority of institutionalized religion, church members could not be automatically counted on to be part of the constituency of these urban ethnic organizing projects. Suspicion of the sponsoring church was transferred to suspicion of the urban ethnic organizing project. The declining influence of religion had a negative effect upon church-based urban ethnic organizing.

This research project suggested two additional hypotheses--trial predictions in the Glazer-Moynihan style of broad generalizations. The first is that ethnicity will continue to grow as a salient determinant of identity, but its appeal will soon peak, level, and then decline.

In the past, ethnicity was often a crucial determinant of location, as cultural-racial factors would tend to fix people in certain zones of urban space. An individual's sense of ethnic identification would be reinforced by the presence of similar ethnics in the surrounding community environment. However, at the present, the traditional ethnic neighborhoods are breaking up under the pressure of new area residents or urban blight. While some ethnic suburbs are emerging, there are many more suburbs that are ethnically neutral. It is interesting to note that the white ethnic organizing movement has been virtually restricted to the old cities of the North. In the new cities of the South and West, white ethnicity has minimal salience, and white ethnic migrants from Northern metropolises tend to suspend their heritage as they interact with a new environment. If American society becomes more open to diversity, browns and blacks will be able to locate in ethnically neutral places with the same ease.

A second hypothetical prediction is that the new urban ethnic organizing movement will develop along two dimensions: an involvement with local communities, and an interest in national issues. Organizations like the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs and the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity will of necessity maintain roots in specific ethnic urban communities or face the prospect of losing contact with ethnicity. National offices are faced with the temptation to escalate beyond local ethnic community problems to issues like tax reform, health insurance, income security, and consumer protection that can be dealt with effectively only on the national level. These issues have no unique salience for ethnics, and a specifically ethnic-oriented appeal to get people concerned about them is strained and off-key. All this goes beyond the scale of the urban ethnic community where urban ethnic organizing takes place over issues of specific relevance to the particular ethnic group in the particular community. Examples of organizing issues of unique salience for ethnics at the proper scale are black concerns about a sickle-cell anemia program in a particular community health facility, or Hispanic concerns about a bilingual program in the local public high school or white ethnic concerns about preserving a community center from a proposed expressway project. Therefore, the strategists of the so-called urban ethnic organizing movement must maintain a network of contacts in urban ethnic communities to possess any real chance to develop the ethnics of America into an organized constituency committed to progressive social change.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Scanning for the presence of certain community characteristics can predict whether an urban ethnic organizing project has a good chance of being successful.*

The following seem to be the most significant community indicators: a large constituency, the loyalty of the people to their ethnic heritage, a good communications system, a well-organized federation of ethnic associations, and a high degree of community cohesion. If any of these ingredients are missing, then the organizer has some pre-organization work to do, or else the outcome of the project will be jeopardized. The organizer can engage in constituency development, the creation of cultural festivals, the improvement of communication networks, the organizing of associations into a federation or coalition, or unity-building tactics to heal divisions within ethnic groups.

2. *Urban ethnic organizing demands identification with the community.*

The successful urban ethnic organizer should identify with the aspirations and life-styles of his potential constituency as totally as his ethics and integrity will allow. This identification should not be merely emotional but should be marked by

a clear-headed openness to the strategic nuances of emerging situations so that the organizer can be a leader and not a follower. The calloused manipulation of cultural symbols is a beckoning temptation for the cynical urban ethnic organizer who has not previously identified with the community, but such a course of action could well be counterproductive if the community residents discovered that the organizer's interest in them was feigned. Urban ethnic communities have been exploited and betrayed so often that they are very sensitive to signals of the genuineness or phoniness of community organizers.

3. *A planning perspective is an essential ingredient of successful urban ethnic organizing.*

Since ethnic projects rely so heavily on heritage, some try to reconstruct the past or preserve the present when such efforts are unrealistic. A planning perspective helps an organization to manage change and build the future. Planning helps to make necessary judgments on what is "unrealistic" because historical restoration projects and community stabilization programs can be caluable efforts in building the future of an urban ethnic community.

4. *Part of each project should be to prepare the urban ethnic organizers of the future.*

A key component of urban ethnic organizing projects should be the identification of potential leaders among the young people within ethnic communities who could be trained in sophisticated organizing and planning techniques so that they could help their own people. This could be achieved through three practical strategies: (a) ethnic communities should demand that neighborhood settlement houses spend part of their budget for the professional training of young community people and then phase out non-community staff to make room for the new organizers; (b) ethnic communities should work with urban universities in transforming stale, outworn professional training programs into new structures attuned to the emerging forms of urban ethnic organizing; and (c) innovative urban ethnic organizing projects could provide for organizing interns, young people who could get on-the-job training in urban ethnic organizing.

5. *Church based urban ethnic organizing should maximize advantages and minimize disadvantages that specifically flow from the relationship to organized religion.*

Churches are often key sources of community cohesion to ethnic communities. Church congregations represent identifiable constituencies with potential for being drawn into the project. Church facilities provide an organizational base and valuable resources. Religious festivals, like street processions or revivals, provide opportunities for community organization. Most importantly, church-based urban ethnic organizing has a good chance to successfully appeal to higher motives for social change than self-interest. A good organizer will capitalize on these advantages.

However, church-based urban ethnic organizing projects tend to alienate community residents who are not connected to the sponsoring congregations. Also, church-based projects work best in a vacuum of other organizing efforts, and if government agencies and private institutions are doing their job, church-based urban ethnic organizing could well be an unnecessary duplication. If religion continues to decline as a focus of ethnic identification as hypothesized by Glazer and Moynihan, then curch-based ethnic organizing will tend to lose effectiveness.

6. *Urban ethnic organizing should utilize and foster distinct cultural values without pitting one ethnic group against another in competition for scarce resources.*

Organizing issues should be in the direction of in-group development rather than competition with or hatred of an out-group. Blacks, browns, and white ethnics must bury the hatchet of old resentments over preferential access to scarce resources. A more basic public policy could be to insure that the supply of funds from public and private sources for individual and community needs comprised an adequate pie. If adequate resources were made available to match these needs, then racial and ethnic quotas would not be necessary and embittering competition would be pointless.

7. *Urban ethnic organizing should include interethnic coalition building.*

Standing in isolation, an urban ethnic organizing project contains a self-frustrating element. Since the processes of urban ethnic organizing utilize the cultural patterns that make for distinctness, urban ethnic organizing promotes intergroup separatism in society, which can frustrate efforts to bring about planned social change.

The coalition-building process brings together separate and distinct urban ethnic groups in functional alliances to achieve mutually desired goals through planned social change. Ethnic groups remain distinct and consolidate efforts only in the areas of functional alliance.

The issues that bring urban ethnic groups into coalitions have been called "bridge issues," "convergent issues," or "parallel agendas." For example, in Baltimore's Southeast Community Organization (SECO), a white multiethnic community joined with contiguous black neighborhoods to oppose a threatening expressway and then decided to cooperate on other issues, especially education and housing. In Detroit where 40 percent of the population is black and 25 percent is Polish, the Black-Polish Conference of Greater Detroit was founded in 1969 to "further the dual goals of promoting each group's independence and separate cultural values while, at the same time, promoting maximum cooperation and understanding between the two largest ethnic groups

in the Greater Detroit area." In Gary, Indiana, urban ethnic organizers put together two organizations -- the Calumet Community Congress (142 white ethnic organizations) and the Black Alliance (a regional federation of black groups based on black Mayor Hatcher's administration) -- that work together on common concerns over pollution and tax reform. Chicago and Milwaukee have similar coalitions of ethnic community organizations.

Despite the problems and pitfalls, inter-ethnic coalition-building has emerged as a crucial adjunct to urban ethnic organizing. There is an ethnic dimension to America's urban malaise, and inter-ethnic coalition-building is an important ingredient of any prescription to cure the malaise.

8. *The ultimate goal of urban ethnic organizing should be the development of an American society that could be characterized as a mosaic of options.*

The following is a scenario of an idealized American society. Freedom of individual choice and opportunity would be optimized. People would be able to work and live wherever they wish and can practically arrange. People would be able to associate with whomever they wish, and if people feel more comfortable with "their own kind," even if defined in cultural or racial terms, they would have the freedom to so live. Compulsory social planning mechanisms, whether promoting separatism or togetherness, would be minimized. Laws would protect individual choice and openness of opportunity rather than foster discrimination or force integration. The best contribution that urban ethnic organizing could make to this Utopia would be to make itself unnecessary.

In summary, this research study of urban ethnic communities in Cleveland had the following outcomes: the concepts of urban ethnicity and urban ethnic organizing were specified and described, and a typology of urban communities differentiated in terms of the ethnicity factor was developed. Another result was a tentative set of twelve characteristics associated with effective urban ethnic organizing projects. Three hypotheses about urban ethnicity developed by urban generalists Glazer and Moynihan were checked against this Cleveland data, and two additional hypothetical predictions about urban ethnic organizing were formulated. Finally, eight policy recommendations about urban ethnic organizing were stated and described.

Dr. Daniel F. Reidy is Executive Director of the Commission on Catholic Community Action in Cleveland, Ohio. He also serves as a Planning Commissioner for the City of Cleveland. He received his Ph.D. in Urban and Social Planning from the University of Pittsburgh.